

special collections



douglas Library

queen's university at kingston

kingston ontario canada





An ACCOUNT

OF

SOME PARTICULARS

RELATIVE TO

The Meeting held at YORK,

On Thursday the 30th of December, 1779.



An ACCOUNT

O F

SOME PARTICULARS

RELATIVE TO

The Meeting held at YORK,

On Thursday the 30th of December, 1779.

By LEONARD SMELT, Efq.

Steel then, ye Powers of Heaven,
Steel my firm Soul with your own fortitude,
Free from alloy of passion. Give me courage,
That knows not rage; revenge, that knows not Malice.

Mason's Caractacus.

LONDON,

Printed for T. Becket, Adelphi, Strand, M,DCC,LXXX,

AC911. 1780.563

PREFACE.

MR. SMELT begs leave to lay before the Publick, his real fentiments upon a fubject to which their attention has been fo often called forth.

In the repeated publications of the Speech attributed to him at York, neither the mode of expressing his fentiments, the order in which

3030636

which they were delivered, nor the intended application of them to their object, has been accurately observed. Much has likewise been added, and much left out. Mr. Smelt would have been very happy if he had found reason to impute this, to the common fallibility of memory and the inaccuracy of notes only; but their general and uniform tendency towards the establishment of conclusions the most unjust, obliges him to withold fuch a proof of undiftinguishing candour.

Mr. Smelt has the least reason of any one to ascribe a greater degree of exactness to his own memory with regard to words than to that

of

of any other person; but with regard to the fentiments themselves, he can not be so subject to mistake, as they are fuch as have long held a fixed place in his mind, and afford an irrefisfable evidence to himself of the manner in which he must have applied them. He therefore immediately after the Meeting drew up the following general view of the questions agitated there, whilst the impressions were fresh in his mind; assured that it was the best and fairest way of stating fuch part of the argument as the time at which he spoke and the nature of the interruption he met with had enabled him to offer. He therefore trusts that those to whom

viii PREFACE.

he has the honour of being known will find that what he now lays before them, is confiftent with his uniform turn of reasoning upon these subjects; and that those who heard him at York, will find likewise the substance and full meaning of what he endeavoured to express at that Meeting.

An Account of some Particulars, relative to the Meeting held at York, on Thursday, the 30th of December, 1779.

HE meeting was opened with a speech from a very respectable clergyman, who entered into the merits of a petition intended for the House of Commons, which he desired leave to read, and to recommend to the consideration of that meeting.

The petition having been accordingly read, two independent gentlemen, of diftinguished property and character, made their objections to it. The first, upon the charge contained in it of very gross abuses in the expenditure of the public money; faying, that it was the custom, and usage of Parliament to require proofs of the allegations, and asking if any one there knew of such proofs, declaring that for his own part, he did not.

The

The fecond gentleman, objected on account of the general tendency of the petition to increase the jealousies of the people, at a time when every support to government, and the most unanimous efforts were necessary, for the preservation of the empire; a subject, which he treated in a manner so elegant, so pathetic, and so dignified, as to secure to him the respect of all well-wishers to this country.

A third gentleman spoke for a considerable time in defence of the petition, in a manner, so as to occasion very frequent plaudits from his hearers. There ensued a silence of some length, and the day being considerably advanced, a freeholder got up and spoke to the sollowing purport:

Mr. Chairman,

I have waited in hopes that fome person more equal to the subject would have asked the attention of this meeting; but no one appearing inclined to rise, I take the liberty of acquainting you, that I received a letter in London from the York tavern, said to be written by a committee met there for the purpose of requesting a general meeting of the county, and subscribed by persons so very resupectable, that I was well assured the object of

it could not but be important. In times of great national difficulties, all extraordinary and public steps taken by the private citizens of the empire, ought to awaken the attention of every well-wisher to his country; if they are such as may add strength to the national exertions, they call for his countenance; if, on the contrary there appears a probability, however well intended they may be, of their having a contrary effect, they ought in such a moment to be vigorously opposed.

I had flattered myfelf, from the very refpectable names which accompanied the request for this meeting, that the object of it would have been fuch an address as might prove the firmness of this county in support of the honour of the crown, the dignity of the empire, and the fecurity of every thing that is valuable to us, against the infidious attacks of the despotic house of Bourbon; But I am much concerned to find, that the object of this meeting feems very different from what I had hoped it would have been; for the petition, which has been read, tends, in my eyes, rather to keep up and confirm those jealousies, which have already but too much weakened, and distracted this empire; The first object of it, being a charge against Administration for

B 2

gross abuses in the expenditure of the public money; The second, a petition to the House of Commons to take upon them virtually the entire control of the Civil List, and thus by becoming the guardians and sole judges of the benevolence of the crown, to reduce it to a state of wardship; which is in effect calling upon one branch of the constitution to invade, what has always been considered as appropriated to the other.

It feems to me, that the air of this room, like the man in the old fable, blows hot and cold: a former meeting I attended here, having been upon the subject of a petition and remonstrance to the King to distolve the Parliament, because the House of Commons, in a matter which related fosely to their own priveleges and internal jurisdiction, had expelled one of their own members; and thus to urge the Crown (in very extraordinary terms) to invade the most facred part of the independency of the House of Commons; its fole control of its internal economy. Upon this occasion, the House of Commons are petitioned to examine into, refeind, and dispose of, what has always been held subject to the disposal of the Crown; and which was never, I believe, enquired into with a view of control, but when a request for an increase

increase of the civil list, or for the discharge of debts contracted, gave a proper plea for enquiring how the deficiency had arisen.

The petition goes further, by afferting that "the Crown had acquired a great and an "unconflitutional influence, which if not checked, may foon prove fatal to the liberties of this country; "Which must necessarily increase that jealously, and encourage that indecency with which so many modern speeches and publications are replete.

The petition proceeds to request, that "before any new burthens are laid upon this country, effectual measures may be taken to enquire into, and correct the gross abuses in the expenditure of the public money; to reduce all exorbitant emoluments; to rescind and abolish all sinecure places, and unmerited pensions, &c." so that by the mode prescribed for these reformations, the means of supporting the war must be immediately stopped, till such effectual measures are taken.

As I must beg leave, therefore, as a free-holder of this county, to declare my dissent to this petition; and as I stand in a very delicate predicament; a part of it expressly mentioning unmerited pensions; I beg leave to refer this meeting to facts in my general conduct, which

which best explain my real fentiments upon this fubject. * But as his Majesty's most gracious benevolence had extended to me, what my fervices, in my own estimation could give me no pretentions to; I immediately refolved, upon the first information of the nature of this petition, humbly to decline the future continuance of it, and therefore beg leave to assure this meeting, that from this moment it ceases, and cannot again exist: I hope I may therefore confider myfelf, as what I really am, an independent man in every fense, which can possibly relate to the object of this petition; and as fuch, I beg leave to be indulged with the patience and candour of this affembly, having never before spoken in public.

The first object of this petition, is a charge against administration, for gross abuses in the expenditure of the public money. I do not come here to plead the cause of the ministry: I never was connected with them, either officially or accidentally. They are responsible to his Majesty, to the Parliament, and to the nation in general for their conduct; and if any

of

^{*} Here this freeholder gave fuch particulars of his conduct in his publick line, as afforded the proofs he alluded to.

of it has been of a criminal nature, I have no interest to prevent me from concurring in their condemnation; but I have knowledge enough of public affairs, to know that there are many things imputed to them, both in this affembly and elsewhere, as crimes, which are so consequent of the general situation of our affairs as to have rendered it difficult for the ablest and most disinterested statesmen, to keep entirely clear of them.

Upon this ground, therefore, I must beg leave to observe to the meeting, that the great misfortunes and difficulties of this country have originated from a degree of felfishness in almost every individual, which in fuccession of time even extended itself to bodies in their aggregate character. When the liberty of this country became perfected, first by the Revolution, and next by the Accession of the present family upon the throne; the increase of trade, wealth, numbers and extent of dominion, produced fuch a general idea of fecurity, as to obliterate, along with the apprehensions for the fafety of the empire, all zeal for its permanency. The amor patria, became a kind of obselete term. and the degree of attention to felf, became for general and fo contracted, as to make every

man the center, and almost the circumference, of every thing that was dear to him. noble and true felfishness, which derived its highest gratification from the visible happiness of its most enlarged connections, became now the object of ridicule; and the love of our country, was an argument, or principle of action, which no man would venture to plead, as even our children were taught to think that it was mere hypocrify. Thus the immediate, temporary and most contracted ideas of interest governed almost every individual, and every aggregate body; and even those Whigs who had in the exertion of their original principles cstablished the liberties of this country at the wisk of every thing that was dear to them, now became infected with the general disease, and thought that no government could be perfect, in which they did not prefide, and at length feemed to avow the necessity of their being a fourth part of the constitution, if not more properly a third, by reducing to a mere form, one of its constituent parts. The same contracted view of things spread its infection over the individuals of this party, as of every other of the kingdom; and the political fystem as a minister, of a very amiable man in private life, was, that every man had his price. The conduct

conduct became foon as contracted as the principle, and the minister for the time solely employed himself in putting aside the difficulties of the day, or perhaps making the most of them for the advantage of himself and family. Thus all the gradual changes which time necessarily produces in the diffant, and even the more central parts of a great empire, were totally unnoticed orneglected. That flow approaching fame which can only reward in present by the consciousness that it will be deserved in future, was too distant to become a principle of action under such a character of a nation; and confequently, the plans for promoting of future good, or for preventing future evils, carrying no immediate reward with them, would fcarce have occured, or, if they occurred, would have been rejected.

Hence the evils in America, hence the difficulties in Ireland, and hence that improvidence in every minister to prepare in time of peace for a sufficient defence in war; by which means the expence of every war became enormous; as every thing must be done when there was not sufficient time to do it well, and when the expences of every article must be exorbitantly increased, and its real value and durability much less, from the hasty and undistinguishing

undistinguishing manner in which it must be supplied.

The flattery which every minister indulged . himself in towards the country gentlemen of reducing the taxes upon a peace, obliged all departments at once to lessen their expence, so that if the peace which preceded the Year 1756 had continued much longer, two thirds of our navy must have been annihilated; as the faving in that department was fuch as not to allow the ships in ordinary to be repaired in their regular and proper courfe. It therefore appears to me, that no man can be a great minister in this country who does not continue upon a peace, the full taxes of a war till every thing is put into fuch order and condition as to enable this country to refift a future attack, without that enormous increase to the national de-btwhich has always followed the contrary conduct.*

No

^{*} At this period arose an interruption of so coarse a kind as to make it impossible for the freeholder to proceed for some time. It was however benevolently counteracted by a plaudit, and the chairman in the sirmest manner rebuked the indecency of it.—A silence ensued—The sensation of the freeholder may be easier imagined than described—Called thither by a committee composed of per-

No minister of what denomination soever. thus looked forward to future, and distant events. Even Lord Chatham, the most difinterested of men in all pecuniary matters, and who had glared the meteor in the storm, was not the minister who would be contented to wade through the flow operations of a peace establishmnet. His favourite object, that of retaining Canada, had made fuch a change in the flate

 C_2

fons fo respectable as to make him conclude that it was meant to be a free meeting-Confcious of the fincerity and difinterestedness of the fentiments he had endeavoured to communicate (which, as well as those which follow, were known to many persons present to have been his real sentiments* before he had the least prospect of being call d to the situation be afterwards filled) And expecting the fame candour from his hearers with which he had heard others speak: all he could do was to recover himself so far as to bring his discourse to a fort of conclusion, much more sudden than he had intended; meaning to avail himself if necesfary of this method of communicating the substance of what he really did fay in the order in which he had first conceived it, and of adding his remarks upon the fubfequent resolutions of the meeting in the following manner.

^{*} Of this the freeholder has incontestable poof in his hands.

of our American Colonies, as obviously to throw the temptation of Independency before them. With them the idea of fecurity had the fame effects as in Britain. They grew felfish as a nation; and after being freed from the dangers of a near and formidable enemy, thought of all the advantages which their fituation now gave them: and to those individuals to whom independency occurred, gratitude to the mother Country lost all influence. Had the minister immediately upon the peace adverted to the change it made in the state of America, he perhaps might have guarded against the attempt to independency in those with whom it first originated, by measures equally advantageous to every part of the Empire. But the progress of selfish principles was too rapid to allow of much time for remedy-no adequate steps having been taken in the moment of their emerging from their difficulties, perhaps the misfortunes which have fince followed could alone prepare the real ground for a perfect and permanent confolidation of Interest.

It feems therefore evident that no minister, (even Lord Chatham, during whose return to power as Privy Seal, the land tax was reduced to three shillings in the pound) ever atempted to pursue such a system of enlarged policy and taxation

taxation during a peace, as might prepare for, or prevent a future war; or so effectually reduce the national debt, as to admit of expences equal to the necessities of such a war, without increasing that debt beyond its former amount.

When we add to the above confideration, the circumstances and efforts of the present war: fuch as are scarce to be paralleled in the history of any other. An Empire under all the difadvantages of violent internal contests, endeavouring to reduce to their former dependence. one fourth of its whole inhabitants, feperated from the rest by an interval of ocean 3500 miles in breadth, with fcarce a possibility of forming magazines of any fort in their country-obliged to collect troops from every part of Germany, and of course subject to a double transport—Every species of ammunition and military store to attend upon the several operations; and to add to these accumulated difficulties, even the very food of every man and animal to be transported that immense distance for their daily fubfistence—The great number of transports to answer all these purposes, as well as of convoys for the feveral different embarkations,-Precautions at the same time to be taken against any furprize at home-and when all these difficulties

ficulties were fo far overcome as to render us fo fuperior in every point of view in America, that they themselves saw the contest must be at an end without further affistance.—Then to have that ancient enemy called in, against whom we had defended them with our best blood; — to free them from we had added fifty millions to our national debt-to have them called in against us, when they had acquired a navy almost equal to our own; when their numerous army had no enemy but England to attend to; and that only at a distance of twenty miles from our coast. -And when under even these circumstances. Britain still held up her head, and by her infinite exertions became fo manifestly superior to both these enemies, as to oblige them to call in a third; the next great naval power in Europe, Spain, not fatisfied till the whole house of Bourbon were called in to annihilate the Mother Country. - Even still, that mother country held up its awful head, still bore its place in Europe, and now rifes to offensive war against all these combined powers; not only without an ally, but almost without a well wisher, from the extraordinary jealoufy her greatness had inspired; and not only begins her offensive war, but in all human probability will fucceed in it, if her own fons will yet let her be a nation. What must be the difficulties, what the expences, of fuch complicated efforts? efforts which must have early succeeded, had it not been for our fatal divisions.

Surely from all these considerations, there appear obvious reasons for very great and extraordinary expences; and if even upon enquiry there should be found abuses, they are probably such as no acuteness and sagacity could totally have prevented in fuch complicated demands. The first charge, therefore, in this petition, seems injudicious, uncandid, and most probably unjust. Injudicious, at least in point of time, from its tending to withdraw confidence, when most effential; uncandid, from there being obvious reasons of justification; and unjust, from there having been no prior evidence of a fact, which every accompanying circumstances of the case renders improbable.

The next charge, contained in the petition, relative to exorbitant efficient places, may be worthy of attention, when a real great plan of national economy comes forward, which undoubtedly will happen, the moment there is leifure and temper for it; but in this moment the utmost advantage which could from fuch a faving, is not of that

fequence as to require - immediate disquisition; nor should it be applied to the lessening of the taxes, as all these kind of savings must go to the sinking fund for the reduction of the national debt; which fund will become the saving of this kingdom, when empowered to become a purchaser of stock, by which means it will not only pay off ten millions with eight, but assist the stock-holders in keeping up the price of stock by its constant demand.

As to that part of the petition which relates to what comes within the Civil List, the indelicacy and injudiciousness of it has been already made appear; and a confideration which will make that the more evident is, that what ever saving can possibly be made in that department, must go towards a proper maintenance of the most numerous and most promising royal family, that perhaps has ever been seen in any country. A country the most distinguished for their private generosity and benevolence, will not be the first to move, that the royal family of Britain should not have a dignissed provision.

The next object of the petition, is the inference drawn from the preceding premises, the unconstitutional influence of the crozen which may soon prove fatal to the liberties of this country.

country. This inference calls for a particular confideration. It has been already observed, that a regular plan of violent opposition to the public measures, has been added to all the other difficulties this country has laboured under; if it may not be given as the original cause of them. It is evident, that the rebellion in America has been fostered by it in every point of view. Lord Chatham was faid to have conquered America in Germany, and the internal enemies of this country, by a most perverted imitation, endeavoured to conquer the constitution of Britain in America. But when even that country did not promife the harvest they wished for, it is well known that the brave, the loyal, but the distressed Irish were exposed to their follicitations to violence. But however great their difficulties, they neither could be brought to deny the immediate means of support against the common enemy, nor to refift the proofs of an affectionate good will towards them; those proofs, which nothing but that general fource of all our real grievances already mentioned, could have withheld from them fo long. But the active dispositions of our internal enemies did not rest here; despairing of fuccess in Ireland, now convinced that a generous and loyal people could never D he

be made a party in annihilating the constitution and dismembering the Empire; the dernier refort was to be tried; the Sovereign himself was to be attacked. That fine veil which this constitution had fo wifely thrown round the person of the King was to be torn away, and every infult offered which could annihilate the respect for an office, so essential to the constitution, in the mifrepresentations of the man who held it; and the fense of treason being in a manner extinguished by gradual and daily usage, the groffest indecences were made use of with that fecurity and impunity which cowardice required, and which it found in attacking the only being in Britain who could not perfonally refent, and in whose favour the laws, by those perverted fentiments of the people had loft their force. But the time will come when those infatuated men will see the injustice as well as the abfurdity of fuch a conduct, and when that fovereign, who neither could be brought to confent to the dimunition of that Empire which he was called to preferve entire, nor to despair of his means of defence, although the whole house of Bourbon thundered upon his coast, will have ample justice done him in the hearts of every real friend of liberty, and of the glorious constitution of this country;

and when both from the example of his private virtues and his publick firmness, real patriotism will receive its best encouragement.

Happy as we may be in fuch an example in fo arduous a moment, this conflitution would ill deferve the praifes bestowed upon it by the wifest men of this and of every other country in Europe, if it depended rather upon the uncommon virtues of the prince, which an hereditary monarchy must render precarious, than upon the attributes of the fovereign. that political perfection which this constitution has attributed to the facred office of a British fovereign, that confifts the shining part of the most admirable form of government that was ever conceived by the mind of any legislator. It is a false opinion, that the King is the servant of the publick. He is the foul of the constitution, that which frees it from the tyranny of an Aristocracy and the anarchy of a Democracy. The fervants of the publick are those ministers who surround him, through whom every act that is done must pass, who are alone responsible, amenable and punishable. Nothing, therefore, can pass from the sovereign to the subject, but through the agency of accountable fervants, and thus the effence of the constitution is never in danger, unless the mad-

D 2

ness,

ness, or the wickedness of the people render it fo, as the facrifice of the minister does not affect it. Contempt, or aversion, may be nationally felt towards one minister, and his fuccessor may fully restore the dignity of the office, because it is dependent upon the individual who fills it: But if the crown becomes contemptible in the eyes of the people, all its attributes fink for ever. That the king can do no wrong, that the king never dies, that the throne is never vacant, are ideas of the highest import to the preservation of this conflitution, and that liberty it was wonderfully framed to preferve; and the difficulty felt at the Revolution, by the greatest men of that age, in making the word abdication confistent with the fense of the constitution, plainly shewed their knowledge of the importance of the royal office, for the prefervation of that liberty they were then met to establish.

How different are the ideas which prevail in the prefent age. Every man is now a legislator, and so far from being satisfied with that timetried form of government, under which he finds himself; by which he had been protected from infancy to manhood; and by which his property has been secured to him; he disdains its orders, arraigns its composition, and would totally change its form as not coinciding with

with his own crude ideas of the State he would chuse to live under; and to effect his purposes, avails himself of the moment in which the empire is struggling against the most powerful, and most despotick of foreign enemies. The strange situation, to which this poor country is now reduced, confirms too justly that which has been already observed, that Britannia, which formerly moved in a line, so dignisted as to draw the attention and respect of all Europe, now sinks down in a state of corruption and gives birth to millions of reptiles, each creeping their own separate way.

When those who possess, from an hereditary claim only, all the distinctions of fociety, and fuch an excessive disproportion of its benefits, as to have a thousand of their fellows creatures employed in the hardest work and with the poorest subsistence to contribute to their ease and luxury.—When fuch talk of the natural equality of men and their right to change the government they live under, who can withhold their aftonishment? And yet this has been fo long the fashionable language of this country, that all fubordination, and order, all decency is at an end, and has carried its effects up to the crown, which fo far from having too great an influence, has been deprived of that most effential

effential part of it which a proper education and early habits formerly implanted in the hearts of men; a general disposition to respect it even in the warmest political contests.

Is the zeal of rhe present majority in parliament for carrying on the war with vigour, against the most perfidious of enemies, meant to be produced as the proof of the undue influence of the crown? Is that majority who would not yield, to the Independency of America; To the ruinous and difgraceful terms prescribed by the most ancient and most iveterate enemy of this country, France; To that uti possidetis of Spain, which was to annihilate this country by checking it in the only moment of effectual refistance, and by raising up a fuperiority of power against it during the ceffation of arms; Is a majority, I fay, against such degrading propositions, the proof of the undue influence complained of? If so, Heaven grant that we may never want fuch influence; and depend upon it, that this will be the univerfal prayer of Britain. The tide of popularity will flow towards those men who have supported the empire under the greatest difficulties, and those who have preached up doctrines which must tend to disgrace us as a nation, will fink to their proper level.

Recover-

Recover yourselves citizens of Britain, if possible, from these delusions. Examine well those who are loudest among you; and see whether there are no professed republicans, no supporters of Aristocracy amongst them. If they have a right to change the constitution, what becomes of your property, what of your tenures? the leafeholder, the copyholder, nay the no holder of any thing, may claim your freeholds: right is annihilated, or endanger'd A11 when the government from which it is derived is annihilated, or effentially changed. Unequal property can never be derived from the boafted natural rights or equality of men. Anarchy, and its certain follower, Despotism, can only arise out of such doctrines. Be affured that in this constitution as it now stands, true Liberty, protection and fecurity, to perfons and property, find their furest basis. That finall proportion of virtue which is necessary for an elector todo justice to himself in his choice of a discrete, sensible, dispassionate man for his representative, and one whose fortune is sufficient to fet him above the necessity of corruption, will ever preserve this constitution. No changes in modes of election, no further exclusions from offices are necessary; as fuch exclusions could only operate in preventing the men, who are the ablest and the fittest both for the senate and the state, to become more useful to their country, by their double capacity, which can never be imposed upon the electors, as a re-election must follow the appointment.

The last object of this petition is, " that " no new taxes may be granted till effectual " measures are taken for this general reform, " the produce of which, is to be applied " to the necessities of the state." And as the two subsequent resolutions of the meeting, in favour of the petition, relate expressly to this part of it, viz. "That a committee be ap-" pointed to carry on the necessary correspon-" dence for effectually promoting the object of " the petition; and to prepare a plan of an " affociation, on legal and constitutional grounds " to support that laudable reform, and such " other measures, as may conduce to restore the " freedom of Parliament;" it may be proper to confider the whole under one view.

The money which is to be raised for the increasing efforts of the war, and for the immediate substitutes of the present means of defence, constitutes that loan, for the payment of the interest of which, new taxes must be granted. The loan, therefore, although instantly wanted for defensive, as well as offensive war, must be delayed, till the object of the petition is effec-

tually carried into execution; and as the meafure petitioned for, is a measure of latitude: the epithet, effectual, must likewise be deemed fo. Who then can be the judges of its latitude. but those who first made use of it? and, that they indeed constitute themselves so, is evident from the subsequent resolutions. The House of Commons must therefore correspond with the committees of Reform; the Committees of Reform with each other, as well as with their full meetings; and of course draw on a long discussion, before they can deem the term effectual, complied with, so as to proceed to the taxes, and of course to the existence of the loan. And, should not the House of Commons think themselves obliged to pay this attention to this awful committee, but proceed as their conscience and wisdom may direct; the affociation comes in aid of this committee. Is this aid to be understood, as was dropped at the meeting, uncensured? are they to be told, that Ireland gained its object by 60,000 men in arms? is this the mode the affociation is to adopt, for effectually carrying on this laudable reform? Ireland in her most biting necessities granted the taxes for fix months, a time sufficient for the British Parliament to judge of and refolve upon her petition; E

petition; and she has generofity to be convinced that she had been hasty in the hostile appearance she made, fince justice alone would have effected her purposes. But British petitioners do not only threaten, but they withold the instant means of defence against a most powerful and most insidious enemy at our door. Surely those respectable names which accompanied the first request for this meeting, could not have intended measures which carry such extraordinary appearances. Appearances which must have greatly alarmed; had there been the least time given to consider them. But it is well known, that these subsequent resolutions were read in great hafte at the conclusion of the meeting, after the passing of the petition, and in a manner that did not seem as if they were meant to be deliberately confidered. But it is unnecessary to fay more, to call the attention of the public to these subsequent resolutions, since they speak, as they were meant to do, in thunder.

When the state of this empire is considered, in the moment in which this petition is brought forth—a moment in which the astonishing efforts of this country were raising it to a superiority over the forces of the whole House of Bourbon

Bourbon, and its own revolted colonies—a moment, in which the common danger was awakening again the amor patriæ, and annihilating, that narrow felfishness which counteracted the confolidation of the whole empire-When the true principles of trade were beginning to be understood; which prove, that it should take its feat with equal freedom in every part of the empire, availing itself of every local advantage and produce-When the navigation act, in America, and the restraints in Ireland would be judged as prejudicial to the whole empire, as if they existed in London-And when out of our evils, had arisen that liberality of mutual advantage, which must consolidate the empire, more than it could have been under that felfish character which pervaded every part before the contest-When there wanted nothing but temper and unanimity in the mother country, to open the eyes of America to her true interest. and to effect a complete union of the whole empire under common advantage, common liberty, and common support; the means for which, might be fettled without admitting the least possible injustice to the parts -At such a moment to give fanction to division, and to tell all our enemies that they might expect, from our internal internal convultions, what their united arms could not effect, is indeed a melancholy, and most unexpected event.

FINIS.



